relationship of the recipient with the killer of the bear. For example, the tail was given to his mother and the hip bone to his father. It was also customary to give two shares to a pregnant relative.[30]

The scope of these hunting and fishing grounds could not have been very large judging from the catch and the methods used but there were probably some that extended over the area of several villages judging from the fact that the fishing rights of Kushiro, Nemuro, and Akkeshi were quarreled over in terms of the *kuni* [province] or *gun* [district] of today.[29] The size of the area differed according to the location and natural features. For example the Urai *Basho* weir was recognized as the place of the Tsuishikari chief Shirimauka, his wife, his sisters, and his descendants,[30] and while in Abuta bear dens were still the possession of a hunting union, in Oshabanabe the right to the den belonged to the discoverer and even his fellow villagers could not violate his rights.[31] In agriculture there seems to have been no cooperation among members of a family. Title to agricultural land seems to have been vested in him who occupied the land.[32]

It seems that to a certain degree there was division of labor, most apparently that between the sexes. The men engaged in hunting and fishing while the women took care of all other domestic affairs. In the *Igen Zokuwa* [Everyday Guide to the Ezo Language and Folklore] there is this passage: "It was the task of women to go to the mountains for firewood, to dig the roots of grass for food; to weave cloth with elm bark fiber and to draw water." A better description is found in the *Matsumae Shi* [History of Matsumae]:

> All day long he would hunt in the mountains and valleys with his poison arrow or go out into the sea in his boat to fish. After which he left his catch on the beach and went off to entertain himself while his wife and mistress would haul, dry, and make dry fish and salt fish. On rainy days it was the woman's task to sew clothes and engage in other work.

Division of labor between groups seems to have been restricted to trading the necessities of life with each other. From Sakai Tadaiku's *HDHS* there is this example: "In Tokachi deer were abundant but there were no salmon in the upper reaches of the Totsubetsu River while there were many salmon in the Tokachi River. Therefore, a trade was carried on at the point

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[29] April 30, 1933. Takakura Kikigaki.

[29] Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon Chimei Jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese place names), 336-337.

[30] *Sapporo Kushi* (History of the Sapporo region), 252.

[31] According to Era Sotaro of Abuta, "Bears' caves belonged to the person who found them and he would mark a sign on a nearby tree. Young men were taught how to hunt bear by the old men who had many caves and the distribution of the meat was directed by the old men. When a youth reached maturity he was given some of the caves." This indicates a kind of hunting group with the old men as leaders.

[32] Tamura Hiroshi, *Nihon Genshi Kyōsan-sei no Kenkyū* (Studies in primitive Japanese communalism), 30.

[P. 16 (A)]

power of the village was insufficient to cope with the problem. This is discussed in *Eso Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor. Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the communal economy of village life dissolved. In the regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life. Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki*:

> Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting, fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private property among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

was either to put up with it silently or to don their hats and go away. And the woman would, if she saw fit, march off, without more ado, at any time.

Although matters have changed with these people in almost every respect since early times, yet there are a few things which echo down among them from the past to the present—faint, indeed, but there nevertheless. The family tie on the woman's side was stronger than that on the man's side, as it is still in some degree. The brother of the mother was looked upon as the real head of the family, and the sister had, in her own family, more privileges than her brother's wife. But these relationships are not so much insisted on today.

It appeared to me that in marriage the men got the best of the bargain. The wife always looked upon it as her duty and privilege to attend to her husband's wants, to till the soil and provide all the millet, vegetables and garden stuff. She and her daughters did all the household work, drew the water, wove all the cloth and made the clothing. Of course they did the cooking. And thus the women folk had a very busy time of it. But then, food and clothing were all they needed. There were no taxes to pay, no fuel to buy, no shops, no clubs, no movies to attend, no electric light bills to meet, no Government Members to pay, no institutions whatever to keep up, and no "pubs." There was good brotherhood among them. The work of the men consisted in hunting and fishing, so that it was up to them to supply the house with all animal food. If rice, which the Ainu women did not attempt to grow, was needed, the men had to work to get the money, skins, or fish to purchase it with. In order to raise this money, if they had no skins for sale, they hired themselves out to the Japanese fishing stations or went horse-tending or timber-cutting or land-surveying for the Japanese. It was also their duty to spend much time in making fetishes and worshipping the gods.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

181 Their motto was quite Christian when put in practice, namely, "If a man does not choose to work, neither shall he eat" (the word "man" being, of course, taken in its generic sense). Such was the golden age of the [565] Ainu. They were quite socialistic and had no class distinctions. But if a man got a little more by his industry than his neighbour, he was allowed to keep it.

●462 782 562 I was very much surprised to find that the women did not often draw nigh to the gods in prayer; that was left to the men. On asking the reason of this, I was informed that "the women as well as the men used to worship the gods and take part in religious exercises, but our wise ancestors forbade them to do so, because it was thought they might use their prayers against the men."

562 782 769 Nevertheless, the women are sometimes sent to offer libations to the deceased ancestors. But they are taught to say just these words, as a rule, "O ye honourable ancestors, I am sent to present this *saké* and food to you." The Ainu are somewhat strict about this and they say, "If a person cultivates a selfish spirit and offers no food and drink to his departed ancestors, the elders of the people should warn him, saying, 'O stupid and wicked person, thou art a fool, and thou dost not understand, thou shall die a hard death.' If this be said, all the people, young and old alike, will be careful to honour the dead." And so I found this form of worship honourably and punctiliously observed.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342

A SMALL HUT

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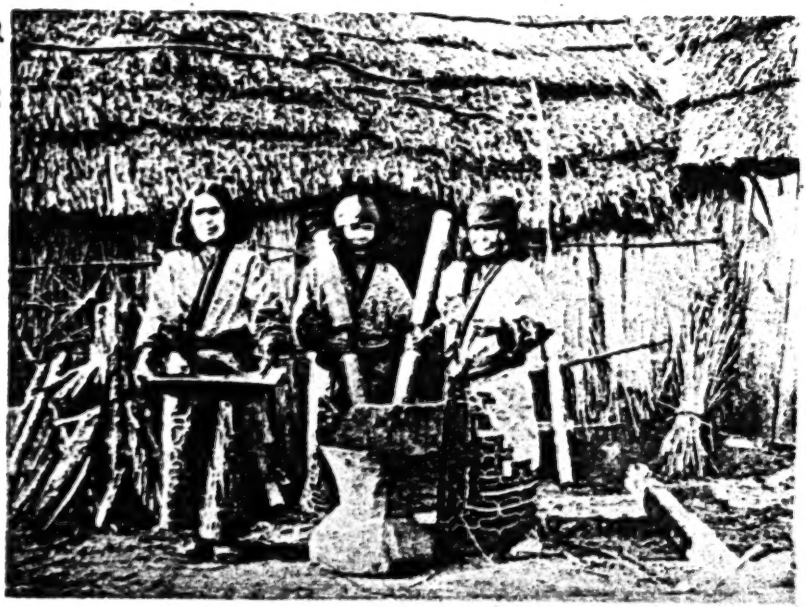

WOMEN POUNDING MILLET

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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WEAVING CLOTH AND DOING EMBROIDERY

[P. 74]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XI

WOMEN AND THEIR WORK

The Ainu women, I found, rose quite early in the morning and worked assiduously all day long, and I thought it very hard on Mrs. Penri when I saw she had so much to do alone in her garden, for her adopted daughter had committed suicide and the son was quite useless. I therefore one day had a quiet talk with Penri himself on the matter, and told him I thought he ought to go and help his wife sometimes when he was not busy. But in this I soon found that I had made a mistake.

For, as has been stated in another chapter, the wife always used to look upon it as her duty and privilege to attend to her husband's wants, to till the soil and provide all the millet, vegetables, and other garden stuff. When I spoke to her husband he told me this, but I thought he might perhaps be making excuses for not turning out and doing what I supposed to be "his bit." So, one morning I went off by way of example to the lady's garden and set to work helping her with her task. But Mrs. Penri

SLING FOR CARRYING BUNDLES
1. is the top which is placed over the forehead.
2. is the lower end which rests on the lower part of the back.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

462 562 appeared to be very uneasy and non-plussed and begged me to return at once to the hut, as people might see me working there and say many bad things afterward. I very soon found that she scented Mrs. Grundy and so cleared off post haste. I found out later that what the chief had told me about gardening being the woman's privilege was quite true then, though it is not so at the present day, for I am now writing of what I found to be the case 50 years ago. The only garden I ever saw Penri himself working in was a tiny piece of ground in [277] which he had planted a few tobacco roots, the leaves of which were to be dried for his own private consumption.

512 562 In the busy spring time the women used to crawl out of their sleeping places in the small hours of the morning, eat a hasty meal of cold vegetable stew, shoulder their tools and proceed to their gardens to chop and hack their plots and sow their seeds. Late at night they would return carrying big bundles of wood on their backs, do what there was to be done in the house, fetch the water (in this I was allowed to help), cook a big meal, eat it and then lie down to sleep. And what I have sometimes seen them eat was fabulous in- [264] deed. When they had eaten as much as they were able to find room for, I have heard them exclaim with a great deal of relief and satisfaction, *Ibe-acramu-shinne*, and this means, "I am in a state of knowing that I have eaten." And truly they looked like it with their smiling faces and well filled out stomachs. It may be also men- 117 tioned here that in many instances I have known the people to go off to their plots of land, where they built themselves small lodges and stayed till their work was done. When Mrs. Penri did this, I cooked and catered for myself, and I made some very fine hashes. Would that I had some of my best friends to help eat them! I once made a stew of wood-peckers, as there was nothing else to be found. But when I took

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

them out of the pot and saw their very long tongues, my appetite departed and I threw the whole lot away. The tongues seemed so unduly long, and round. "Ugh"!

During the summer months the women had perhaps not quite so much to do; still, there was plenty to take up their time. There was the weeding to be attended to in the hot sun; bark to be prepared for manufacturing into cloth; thread to be twisted and weaving to be done; also mats to be made. But as soon as the autumn came round, the millet crops had to be quickly reaped, beans gathered in, turnips and carrots to be pulled and the potatoes to be dug up. The mode of reaping millet was very primitive indeed, for the tool used belonged to the shell and stone age. It consisted in merely walking through the gardens and pinching off each head with a small shell, leaving the straw standing. A little later the women and children would go into the mountains to pick up chestnuts, which are used largely for food, and gather the wild grapes. About this time they also dug up arrow-root (*Lilium Glenni*). After washing and boiling well, the arrow-root is mashed up into pulp, which is made into cakes and dried in the sun for winter food.

These people had no agricultural implements to speak of and they did not manure their gardens. We once had an old man in to do up our bit of garden, whom I asked to spread some manure on the ground he was digging up, for I told him that would enrich the soil. He stared at me and said he would not do so. When I accused him of idleness he told me that I was very unjust. "How so?" I asked him. Said he, "you profess to be a teacher of religion, Sir; yet you would have me dishonour and insult the gods by offering them manure! Will they not of their own free will give you the increase they intend you to have? Do you think you can force their hands? Let the gods do as they will!" I really thought the old man was joking. But.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

242 829 no, he was quite sincere. In the conversation which followed the above incident, it came out that this Ainu believed strongly in the particular and special providence of the gods, and was strongly of opinion that they ought to be left alone to attend to their own special duties after their own fashion. Human beings should not attempt to interfere with their dispensations and evince a desire to get more out of the earth than they intend freely to bestow. It is the place of the gods to look after the men and not of the men to look after the gods. Man may sow but the gods alone can give the increase. Hearing this, I found it easy to understand why the people never manured their gardens or attempted to improve them. They feared the gods. That was the reason. And so it became necessary to [178] change their plots when the ground became exhausted. However, they have now learned that God helps most those who help themselves, and they know it to be a help all round to cultivate their gardens properly.

221 562 462 In the winter time, particularly during the latter part of November and the early part of December, the women assisted the men to net or spear the large salmon which are to be found in the rivers at this season. After this, the main stock of wood for the winter fires had to be cut, split, dragged or carried home upon the back and stowed away. The millet had to be pounded in mortars, the beans and peas shelled, and a thousand and one other little things attended to as circumstances required. And so it will be seen that the Ainu women were kept very busy at all times and one might perhaps be tempted to say that they were therefore very unhappy. But this was not really so, [461 177] for they were, as a rule, happy wth their lot, especially after a supper which had been well earned. I believe even today they are more happy with their lot than many of their sisters in the homelands, who, instead of cheerfully taking what work they may get if they try, and sopying their way, prefer to remain idle and draw their "dole."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

they try, and so paying their way, prefer to remain idle 600
and draw their "dole."

Amid all her work the mother's love for her off- 855
spring is very great among this people, so that, ac- 462
cording to their lights and material ability they look after them well. I have now before me a story of a goat-sucker which owes its origin to the carelessness of a woman in nursing her child, and will be in point to quote in this place. No doubt many funny things have been said about this bird. Pliny and Aristotle call it by the names Caprimulgus and Aigothelas, which mean "goat-sucker." These names were given it because they believed in the popular notion that this bird lived by sucking the teats of goats. But the Ainu knew nothing about goats and gave quite a different version of the origin of the name by which the bird now to be discussed is known to them.

The legend tells us that the goat-sucker was once 539
a human child, and that, out of sheer mischief, a demon changed it into a fiend. No doubt the mother herself was to be blamed for neglecting her baby; and the transformation of it into a bird and demon is meant to be taken as a warning to women to take proper care of their offspring. The being who stole the child and did all the mischief was the evil genius of swamps. Now, although the child once managed to escape from her clutches, yet, because its cry for food was left unheeded by the mother, the fiend came again and caught it, turned it into a bird, and possessed its nature. Here, then, is a warning to all mothers to attend to their babies when they cry, and to keep them near at hand. It need hardly be remarked that this bird is not regarded with any favour by the women and that the sound of its note is looked upon as of evil omen.

"Once upon a time, in far away bygone days, a certain woman took her dear little baby on her back and went to work in her garden. Upon arriving there

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

331 342 In building their dwellings, the people begin not "with the top brick of the chimney," but with the roof. This consists of bare rafters tied to horizontal poles at the lower end and a long ridge-pole at the upper, to which the thatch is fixed. The inner layers of bark, especially of elm trees, and pieces of vine and creeping plants are used as rope and string for tying the poles together. As soon as the roof is finished, poles about seven feet long (of magnolia by preference, on account of its supposed durability) are driven into the earth at a distance of about six feet apart, and across these smaller pieces of wood are lashed, to which the thatch is tied; and thus the walls are formed. These poles have each a fork in the top. When they are all set up in their places, the roof is lifted bodily on to them, the lower horizontal poles being allowed to rest in the forks at the top of the uprights. The thatching is then proceeded with. This takes a day or two to finish, for the huts are entirely thatched with reeds, right from the ridge-poles on the roof to the foot of the poles stuck in the earth. Both men and women work at house-building, in which I have also sometimes joined for the fun of the thing, and the spring and autumn were the proper times for this occupation.

[462 221]

342 When the framework of the house has been set up and the "heart" fixed properly in its appointed place, a preliminary house-warming festival takes place, at which prayer is said, dumplings eaten and either millet beer or Japanese *saké* partaken of. The first prayer is as follows:—

342 788 782 "O House God! O Caretaker of the Room! we worship Thee; we beseech Thee to hear us. In olden times, when the Goddess of Fire was sent down from Heaven, a house came down with her. The frame was made of wood and the walls of reeds. The heart also was there. Now, when God sent the building down, He said, 'This house will, together with the Goddess of Fire, watch over the people. When it becomes old,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

527 will unite in the great joy of sending him off. Come!"
231 As soon as this invitation is received, the women shave the foreheads and hinder parts of their husbands' and sons' necks, and then proceed to touch up one another's tattoo. That done, they get out their best embroidered garments and beads and other ornaments in readiness to wear, and then set to work and pound millet for the festive cakes and dumplings. The men are not idle, but employ themselves in making numerous fetishes out of wood, to offer to the various deities and demons or to use as mediators. And some, also, for the deceased ancestors. Nothing must be left out on this most important occasion.

[462]

When a bear is sacrificed, it is not said to be killed but to be "sent away," for the spirit is then let out of the body and goes off fully alive. The account given me by my friend runs as follows:

After a cub has been brought up in its cage and has now become big, and the preparations for sending it away have been completed, and the house has been well filled with guests, and the time for the baiting has arrived, all the people go out to the cub.

The cub is supposed to have grown big enough for the feast in a year; but two or even three is thought to be the best time for the ceremony, and the bigger the animal is, the more fun there is to be got out of him in baiting, and the more meat there will be to divide among the guests.

As for the men, they do worship and perform dancing before the divine one, while the women and children clap their hands, sing songs, and take part in the dancing.

This merry performance is carried on for quite a long time, and I suppose poor little Bruin thinks it all very funny. When those who came first have finished their dancing, the late comers have their turns, for all must join in.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

sometimes some beads or earrings, or a sword-guard. Such things were greatly prized and carefully put away.

As I came to know the people and their language better, I found that some of them had not very nice names, while others were all that could be desired. Bright, Graceful, The Beauty, Cheerful-face, Peace of Heaven, Grace of God, Bird-mouth, Deer-catcher and such like names were all very well, but I could not say much for Pot-belly, Big-eyes, Saucepan, Chop-sticks, Sooty, Filthy, Rubbish and so forth. But one could not perhaps wonder, seeing how difficult it was to make well-meaning and euphonious brand-new names for every one of them!

During all the time I was with the chief I never once heard Mrs. Penri mention her husband's name. She never on any occasion called him by it. Nor did we ever hear our servants do so to each other, either. To Penri, the wife was always Orosia, but never once did she ever address him as Penri. The special lore concerning this point is as follows: "The wife should not pronounce her husband's name, for the bare fact of mentioning it aloud is equal to killing him, for it takes somewhat away from his life. Women should therefore be very careful in this matter." When speaking of her husband, a woman uses such terms as these: "My Ainu," "My man," "My person," "The head of the hearth," "He who has bound me," "Floor," "So-and So's father," and, at times, though rarely, "My husband." Thus the husband's name may not be "taken in vain."

Continuing to speak on this matter, the Chief said, "It is the special duty of men to worship the gods, while the women must not presume to pray. When the people are sick, it matters not whether they be old or young, male or female, the men should without fail draw nigh to the deities and do worship. The husband, as head of the house, is the one who should

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Kurilsky Ainu until quite recently destroyed their huts when migrating from one island to another. They also burnt the huts of deceased persons. It is needless to say that the Ainu have no churches, no hotels, no hospitals, and no public buildings of any kind. The huts in villages are a little way from one another, and each hut has directly in front a separate storehouse, built on piles or posts so as not to be accessible to wolves, dogs, or rats. These are small structures, the architecture of which has the local characteristics of the habitations, with the exception that they are invariably on piles, while the habitations are on the ground. Clothes, furs, mats, and winter provisions of sea-weed are kept in these storehouses, and access to them is by means of a peculiar ladder. It is a mere log of wood, six or seven feet in length, pointed at one end, and with five or six incisions, which serve as steps, and remind me of the steps cut by an ice-axe in a glacier or on frozen snow. Natives go up and down these ladders with ease, even when carrying heavy weights on their heads; and good care is always taken to remove the ladder when leaving the storehouse. Women principally look after these storehouses, and seem to have the whole care and control of them. I have often seen an Ainu girl—for a storehouse could hardly hold more than one—sitting on the tiny door working at her lord and master's *Atzis* robe. Hour after hour I have seen her sitting there, working patiently till the sun has set and the darkness has come. Her materials were then stowed away; the mat at the door was let down; the ladder descended and kicked away; and sadly singing in her soft falsetto voice, she retired into the dirt and dark of her habitation.

The storehouses stand about six feet above the level of the ground, and are generally on four, six, or eight piles. Upon each pile is placed a large square piece of wood turned downwards at the sides, so as not to be accessible to rats and mice. Upon these square pieces of wood rest horizontally four rafters, forming a quadrangle about eight feet square. The small storehouse has as a base this quadrangle, and is seldom high enough to allow of an adult to stand inside.

Storehouses are thatched like all other houses. On

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

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AINU MAN WALKING WITH SNOW-SHOES.

CHAPTER XXIII.

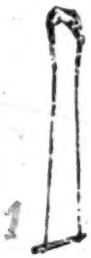
Movements and Attitudes.

147 THE Ainu people may be called physically strong, but yet they are not to be compared to the Caucasian races. They are fairly good walkers, capable mountaineers, and deft marksmen, but they do not excel in any of these exercises, either by speed and endurance in the former two, or by special accuracy and long-range in the latter.

● 469
147 In the Ainu country most of the hard work is done by the women, who thus surpass the men in both endurance and muscular strength. Ainu men are indolent, save under excite-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Weights and burdens are carried entirely by women and they carry them either on the head, if the load be not too heavy, or on the back by means of a *Thiaske Tarra*, or simply *Tarra*, a long ribbon-like band tied round the bundle, leaving a loop which goes over the forehead, thus dividing the weight between the shoulders and the forehead. When carrying a weight with the *Tarra* the woman stoops, and the greater the weight the lower the head has to be. The strain on the forehead and muscles of the neck is greatly modified by bending the body more or less; the weight increasing on the shoulders in proportion as the pull decreases from the forehead. The advantage of this contrivance is that it leaves both hands free. Very heavy loads can be carried by average women with this simple contrivance, and its common use may account for the strong and well-developed necks noticeable among them, but not among the men. Children are carried on the back of other children by means of a modified *Tarra* that has a stick about twenty inches long, the two ends of which are fastened to the two ends of the band. The child carried sits comfortably on this stick while the centre part of the *Tarra* rests on the head of the child-carrier. This centre part is generally lined with a piece of skin or cloth, and ornamented with a few simple Ainu designs. A weight which cannot be lifted with both hands is easily borne for a long distance by the aid of the *Tarra;* and I should think that with it a strong woman could carry on her back a load, say, of from eighty to ninety pounds. It is difficult to institute comparative tests of strength, as constant practice, without counting "knack," often enables a person to perform feats which baffle a much stronger man. Taken altogether, the Ainu strength is relative to their height; but they are somewhat below the average Caucasian races both in endurance, and yet more in speed and muscular power.



THE THIASKE-TARRA, FOR CARRYING CHILDREN.

When actively employed, the Ainu can abstain from food for fourteen or sixteen hours; when quiescent for about twenty. They can go without drink (when it is not alcoholic) for ten or twelve hours without feeling inconvenience. A pebble is often sucked, or a straw is chewed when fluid is not obtainable,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIX.

Marital Relations, and Causes that Limit Population.

THE laws of marriage in the Ainu country are not very stringent; in fact, there are no laws. If a young man takes a fancy to a pretty hairy maid, and the maid reciprocates his affections, all they have to do is to go and live together, and there is no Mrs. Grundy to be scandalised at the want of closer forms and ceremonies. There is no function to celebrate the occasion; there are no wedding presents, no bridesmaids, no officiating clergyman, and no old slipper flung after the happy pair as soon as the knot is tied. The bridegroom either goes to live in his bride's hut, or, if he does not care for his mother-in-law, he will bring his lady-love to his own father's hut. Usually, however, the two, especially if their respective families are large, prefer to build a hut of their own. The honeymoon is spent in house-building, and while the bride carries the loads of timber and long reeds, the bridegroom accomplishes the more difficult task of putting them together as well as he can for future shelter. All goes well with the happy couple until the roof has to be lifted up bodily and perched on the forked poles, during which process "family rows" generally begin. But they do not last long, and when the house is finished, though not decorated, home peace reigns within, and the bridegroom, as we have already seen, proceeds to ornament his chief treasure—his wife—with tattoos on her arms. This idyllic state of things is not specially permanent, for soon after this first marriage the Ainu feels that he would like another wife, and, without thinking twice about it, he

women. These skills were conceived to be biologically innate rather than learned.

(3) *"Woman's treasure."* Woman's treasure was passed from mother to eldest daughter. Some informants maintain that, though the eldest daughter was the custodian of the treasure, her sisters had legitimate access to it. In the absence of a daughter, the wife of the eldest son inherited the treasure. The family, rather than the matrilineal group, was the unit of inheritance as it was for "man's treasure."

(4) *Marriage.* Marriage usually took place within the village. Intervillage marriage tended to be avoided because of expense; it involved bride exchange: a girl of the village to which the new bride came had to be sent to the bride's village. The girl thus given in exchange did not necessarily marry into the bride's family, but she did have to marry a man of the latter's village. This practice of bride exchange tended to concentrate the women of a matrilineal group and to perpetuate its descent line in the same village. Compared with men of the same patrilineal group, however, women belonging to the same descent group were more dispersed. Rules of exogamy will be discussed below in connection with the matrilineage.

(5) *Cooperation among matrikin.* Handling of the dead at funerals was the task of matrilineally related women. According to one informant, a woman's body was attended to by her matrikin in the following order of preference: her mother, her mother's sisters, her own sisters, and her other matrikin.[6] In illness, a sick Ainu woman preferred to be nursed by her matrikin, and a sick Ainu man by his mother's matrikin. The birth of the first child took place in the mother's natal home; later births in her husband's home. While it was desirable for a woman to have her matrikin serve as midwives, this was not necessary; at childbirth the assistance of many women was required. These assistants included not only the pregnant woman's matrikin but also her father's female relatives, if the childbirth took place in her natal home; if it took place in her husband's home, the husband's female relatives helped. On the seventeenth day following birth a ceremony called *kamui ko yayattasa* ("thanksgiving to gods") was performed by the mother's male consanguines, attended by blood relatives, of both sexes, of her mother's father and of her husband. A woman was not allowed to officiate at a thanksgiving ceremony but had to depend on a male relative—most often either a brother or a son of one of her matrikin or else one of her father's patrikin.

(6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). When a husband worshipped his ancestors, his wife also participated in the ceremony. At the same time, she worshipped her own matrilineal ancestresses and her father's ancestors. Generally speaking, she placed the greatest emphasis on the worship of her matrilineal ancestresses. A man, however, worshipped his patrilineal ancestors exclusively. Noteworthy in this connection is the Ainu conception of the afterworld. It appears that women were thought to join their dead matrikin and men their dead patrikin. If this was actually the belief, the distinc-

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
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tion between the patrilineal and matrilineal groups was carried even into the after life, and the belief must have served as a "social charter" in Malinowski's sense.

Relationships Between the Sexes

Although in Ainu society the two sexes were segregated into mutually exclusive descent groups, men and women obviously could not and did not remain separate. There were many areas of social life, aside from the daily management of household tasks, in which mutual cooperation between the sexes was necessary. Some of these have already been discussed. For example, at childbirth, a woman relied, not only on her own matrikin, but also on her father's and husband's female blood relatives. At the thanksgiving ceremony after childbirth and in the worship of ancestors, women, who were not permitted to officiate at religious affairs, had to depend on their male relatives. Finally, with the dissolution of a marriage, whether owing to the death of the husband or to divorce, a wife usually went to live with her mother's brother or her own brother. A man, on the other hand, was dependent on his female relatives in illness and also at death. We are not certain whether these relationships between the sexes were purely individual, whether they were between a patrilineal group and a matrilineal group as expressed through their individual members, or whether they were between an individual and a descent group of the opposite sex.

The Problem of Matrilineages

Ainu patrilineal and matrilineal groups differ from typical unilineal descent groups in their exclusion of one or the other sex. The question arises whether the Ainu may not also have had unilineal descent groups of the ordinary type, i.e., including unilineally related individuals of both sexes. The existence of matrilineages is suggested by the Ainu marriage rules and also by aboriginal designations.

Marriage was prohibited, first of all, between father and daughter, foster father and foster daughter, mother and son, and foster mother and foster son. It was also forbidden between brother and sister. A nephew could marry his paternal but not his maternal aunt, and a niece could marry her paternal but not her maternal uncle. As previously noted, marriage was permitted with any cousin except a matrilineal parallel cousin. In other words, the individuals with whom marriage was prohibited included a male Ego's mother and her matrikin and a female Ego's own and her matrikin's sons and brothers. Put more simply, a woman might not marry (in addition to her father) the son or brother of any woman with whom she shared the same type of belt. These men are obviously the very ones who in an ordinary lineage system would constitute the male members of a matrilineage.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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sacred; no one dared to spit in the ashes or defile them in any way. It was the duty of a wife or mother to comb the ashes, feed the fire and see that the pot did not boil over. In sitting near the hearth a woman should not point her feet towards it; even an elder would not expose his soles to it.

Since nothing was allowed to contaminate the purity of the fire, ritual impurity was avoided by making another fire at the lower end of the hearth.[1] Kamui Fuchi delegated matters involving ritual impurity such as generation, pregnancy and childbirth to Uari Kamui, who was vaguely regarded as her assistant and supposed to act at the lower end of the hearth. Except at a birth Uari Kamui could be invoked without a fire, but Kamui Fuchi never was. Otherwise there was no clearer distinction between them than between Nusa-koro and Kinashut Kamui.

In this district there were definite positions around the hearth assigned to members of the family and to guests of both sexes according to their social standing. Customary positions are indicated on the plan. The house-owner, as we have seen, sits at (5), with his wife beside him at (6). Formerly, if he had another wife she lived in a separate house. No single house, however spacious, could comfortably accommodate more than one wife. Honoured guests could sit at the head of the hearth (7), and children at the side at (8). Chisei-koro Kamui stands in the north-east corner (9). Among his titles is Sopa-un Kamui, He Who Resides at the *Sopa*, which includes the corner and the adjoining north wall. At (10) a *shutu inau kamui* is often installed. In Plate XIV, which shows the interior of a large house, two such *kamui* can be discerned at the far end by the double sets of curled *inau*. In the corner Chisei-koro Kamui can just be seen.

Treasured objects are hoarded on the north side in rows (11) near the *sopa*. These include many lacquered vessels, some being heirlooms of superior make (Pl. XII). Probably most were obtained in barter or given by former Japanese masters for services rendered. The *shintoko* are round, square or polygonal boxes with feet and lids, all lacquered, and some are old and of fine quality. Occasionally used for cereals, beans or similar food, they were formerly important at festivals as receptacles for the sacred brew. Among other treasures are wooden ladles for pouring out the sacred beer

[1] After childbirth there was a rite of removing the ashes from the hearth of the house in which the child had been born.—H.W.

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the [241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was [776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to [688] offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the [771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance [783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation [841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in [843] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

343 Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet 825 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of [462] provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru [192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat [778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] [262] [1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

spearing, *shune marek*, as described later was in active use for the capture of salmon coming together in spawning grounds. The use of the *marek* was, though not invariably, confined to men. Taboo was placed specifically on use by women at the named spawning grounds of dog salmon controlled by the male members of the local group. The *marek* was as important a fishing implement to men as the basket-trap, *urai*, was to women. What characterized the former as distinct from the latter was that with it any sort of fish could be captured: fresh-run brisk salmon still untinged for spawning, salmon ready to spawn or under spawning activities, or the fish in hiding in the daytime or in activity in the night. In the use of the spear skill played a greater part than with the *urai* and other kinds of fishing gear. It seems that as a result the amount of catch differed considerably with different persons. It is said that the catch in one night varied from 10-15 at the minimum to 40-50 at the very maximum. It was to supplement the catch with the *marek* by each family that the fish-trap, *urai*, was used.

The Torch.

The period from mid- or late November, when silvery salmon appeared in the rivers, to the middle or end of December, when the fish had finished running, was the later salmon season. During this period the Ainu manipulated the *marek* by night with the aid of torch lights, *shune*. Torch-light spearing was more effective at and about the spawning areas where the salmon came together. The torch employed for the purpose was made of a bundle of dried Miscanthus or of strips of dried birch bark. Among the Ainu on the lower course of the Tokapchi as well as those on the Azuma, the Mukawa and the Saru, torch-light fishing in a dugout was usually conducted by a team of three—the spearer, *naniun*, at the bow, the pole-operator, *umun*, at the stern, and the torch-holder, *shuneani*, standing between. When not going by dugout as on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the team would consist of the spearer and the torch-holder. The torch-holder and the pole-operator were by custom female, each team generally being formed by members of the same family.

The Peep-fishing Hut.

The peep-fishing hut, *worun chise*, was a simple construction erected on piles over the stream, linked with the bank by means of a gangway (Fig. 2, b). It was used by a single male, who sat in it and speared with the *marek*. The walls and the roofing were of butter-bur leaves or other leafy twigs, and part of the floor was cut open for the fisherman to peep through. The hut was built over the run, *pet netoba*, about the spot where ascending fish were in the habit of halting, *chep kusushi*. The same hut was used for dog salmon and cherry salmon alike. Peep-fishing was well adapted to the habit of the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

fish in the run, so that it was less efficient during the daytime when they usually remained inactive. It was used towards evening when the fish began to stir and again towards daybreak when they ceased to move about. It was a method most effectively employed in the earlier phase of the run, i.e. the period before the spawning of dog salmon and cherry salmon, when they continued their ascent. When the spawning time arrived, its place was taken by the more efficient method of spearing in the spawning grounds. Each family set up one hut, which was used by one of its male members, usually the house-head. Each family usually owned its own *worun chise*, which they erected anew each year on the same site, unless there was any great change in the site or surroundings. In reality the hut was open to the danger of thaw in spring and its conditions were made precarious by floods which recurred annually. At least in Mukawa those groups located near the estuary built cone-shaped dark huts, *shimpui chise*, on the frozen river and speared dace, Hucho perryi and other fishes through a hole.

The Basket-trap.

The basket-trap, *urai* or *rauomap*, made of pliable twigs and semi-conical in shape, was, like the *marek*, one of the most familar fishing devices known to the Ainu (Fig. 2, c). It was in extensive and general use for a great variety of fishes including dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace. Pointed at one end and open at the other, the trap was attached to the bottom of a V-shaped wattle-work fences or leader made of piled stones narrowing in the direction of the downstream. It was sometimes set to catch fish running upstream. In this case an accessory made of twigs was attached inside the mouth of the device to prevent fish from turning back outside.

When the spawning season set in, there were great runs into the glens of the cherry salmon that had been waiting in the larger and main streams. In order to catch them the basket-trap was set mostly in the glens and at their mouths. The main spawning grounds of the dog salmon lay distributed in the main streams as distinguished by the Ainu along which their settlements were located. They set the trap in the shallower and more rapid streams divided by shoals (*pet arikehe*) to trap dog salmon as they came down circling about and between the spawning areas. It played an active part as the fish began to spawn. The implement was usually made, erected and used by each family at the hands of women, although in time of a spate male members might help in driving piles and other work. As far as the salmon was concerned, the womanly device, the *urai*, played a supplementary role to the manly device, the *marek*. Thus the smaller the catch with the *marek* by a family, the greater the number of the *urai* it used. In the same local group where some families owned none, others might have three or four, the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 227 average number being one or two. To the Ainu the *urai* was the commonest and most essential of fishing gear second to the *marek* in importance.

The Weir.

The weir, *tesh*, was made of a wattle-work screen tied to a row of wooden piles driven across the streams (Fig. 2, d). By this means the Ainu intercepted ascending cherry salmon and, in some cases, dace. The *tesh* was the chief fishing device indispensable in particular for catching ascending cherry salmon. By custom one end of the weir was always left open so as not to shut the entire passage to the fish. Close below lay one or two platforms, on each of which stood one Ainu manipulating a small handnet, *tesh koru ya* or *pon ya*, and caught fish turning back from the weir. The *tesh* was set in a wadable shallow in the way of run, usually the deeper and slower of the [B76] streams devided by shoals in the main stream, *pet netoba*. The device was generally used by night when the fish made their way upstream intensively. It was prepared and constructed either by two or three families working [B162] together or by a single family. The wattle work for the screen by women and its setting up by men were directed by some able member of the *tesh*-group (p. 59, the chart), usually an elderly male.

The Bag-net.

The net, *yaroshiki ya*, was a rectangular bag-net with a handle attached at each end (Fig. 2, f). Nets of the same name and similar shape were used for both dog salmon and cherry salmon, but the meshes were coarser in one for dog salmon than for cherry salmon. In operating the bag-net, two operators held it in position by the handle at each end with the mouth turned upstream and caught fish as they were chased in by a driver. The device was used in the daytime around pools, *ooi*, or deposited roots of drift-wood near the spawning grounds, where fish concentrated by day lurking inactive. For dog salmon it was employed in the main streams where there were densely-distributed spawning beds. For cherry salmon it was effectively used also in glens or side streams. Those places exploited with the bag-net were also where the *marek*-spearer worked by day, so that the same daytime spearer served as the driver in the bag-net fishing party.

[476] [592] [824] [476] Bag-net fishing was conducted by a single family or by cooperation of a net-group formed by two or three families usually from one and the same settlement (p. 59, the chart). The net was made of plant fibre. It was used by the members of the group who had made it. When more than one family participated, the team of three necessary for the work was drawn by custom from the different families. When part of the member families used it, the catch was shared by all the member families.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

In practice it was usually women who operated the bag-net. But during the period from the beginning of the dog salmon season to the appearance of *meorun-chep* or silvery salmon, bag-net fishing was under taboo. So also was its use at the spawning grounds themselves that were named and controlled by the local group (pp. 60-62). A net of similar shape but smaller in size, *pon ya*, was used in catching dace and other smaller varieties.

The Net-trap.

This fish-trap, *ya urai*, was made of V-shaped wattle-work fences narrowing downstream with a kind of the bag-net with one handle only, *urai koru ya* (Fig. 2, e), attached to the lower end of the fences. The device was not automatic: it was operated by a single Ainu taking his position on a platform attached to the trap and drawing up the net by the handle on feeling a catch by means of a touch-line connected with the net. The trap was set in a small tributary or one of the streams divided by shoals in the main stream, the same streamway for the basket-trap, to catch dog salmon, cherry salmon and trout all coming down-stream. It was usually operated by night when the fish were astir. The device proved also effective when the rain had swollen the river and made it too muddy for spearing by sight. The net-trap was set only by a few families from a settlement. In the upper Tokapchi area it was used in smaller tributaries chiefly for catching trout which came gathering to eat the eggs of cherry salmon and it was thought difficult to haul with other devices at their command; there is however no trace of it being ever used for dog-salmon as was in the Azuma area. Those families possessing a net-trap not only used it for themselves but invited other families in the settlement to use it.

The Trawling-net.

A net similar in shape and size to the bag-net, *yash ya*, was used by some groups for trawling the varieties of salmon (Fig. 2, f). Two operators in a pair of dugouts stood at each bow with the trawling net held by each handle and dragged it along as the boats floated down to catch fish running upstream. The trawling was practised more actively during the night when the fish ran in shoals. This method of fishing required that the streams should be sufficiently wide and without many hazards to the net like drifted roots deposited in the streams, so that its practice was limited to specific areas in the main stream along which the settlements were located. The groups living upstream on the Tokapchi and all the Otopuke groups never used trawling-nets. Somehow, it was not their custom to use even dugouts for fishing purposes at ordinary times; to them the craft was chiefly for traffic. The same groups that did not practise trawling were also without the meshing-net, *chama ya*,

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

which will be described later. On the other hand, in downstream areas where there were fewer spawning grounds of dog salmon in and around which Ainu fishing technique mostly suited, trawling was the most efficient mass technique. Fishing with the trawl-net, requiring as it did a pair of dugouts, two net-operators and two boatmen besides the net itself, was conducted by male and female members from at least two families forming a trawling group.

The Meshing-net.

This was a small-sized fixed net, stretched upright in a straight line across the stream to mesh fish striking it. Though not used by groups on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the net, *chama ya*, seems to have been in extensive use for dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace, in areas on the lower Tokapchi. Clear evidences for the use of the net were obtained from Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot. It was set in position between a deep whirling pool and the main current parallel to the latter so as to entangle ascending fish as they swept round with the whirlpool. The device played an important part in catching early and scattered runs of fishes. When spawning began and the fish ran in shoals, it gave its leading place to spearing and trawling. A dugout was required for setting the net and for going round to see and take in the haul. The net was made and used by an individual family.

The Rectangular Basket-trap.

The trap, *kutu*, consisted of three parts: a V-shaped wattle or stone fence, a leading trough of woven twigs with one end pointing downstream and put up against the top of the fence and the other submerged and pointing upstream, and a wattle-work basket fixed to that end of the trough rising above the water. Fish shooting downstream were stranded on the trough and were taken automatically in the basket. The device was in use for instance among the Ainu in Shikot and Mukawa shortly after the land allotment for the capture of dace, cherry salmon and even dog salmon, although there is no evidence for its use in Tokachi, Otopuke and Azuma in the period under survey. It was applied most effectively to rapids where there was some head of water and where descending fish were swept down in the current with little chance of turning back. The use of the *kutu* was accordingly limited to the upper-stream groups on some particular river courses.

Fishing Activities.

Spring Fishing.

With the disappearance of the base snow from the plains, the whole Ainu population suddenly emerged from their winter inactivity. In every Ainu household there was still some store of dried fish and meat left over from the old year.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 512 nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir. Every morning they returned to the settlement to take their catch home. It is the habit of the salmon to lurk inactive during the day in a pool or under a drifted tree root. Before the land was cleared and the the rivers were improved there was a great amount of drift-wood in every watercourse. The Ainu went about in search of such places by day, spearing hiding fish with the *marek*. Fish that [462] were missed or driven out were captured by partners, usually females, using the bag-net, *yaroshiki ya*.

226 221 Around August the salmon began to run up into small tributaries or glens for spawning. In this period, the automatic basket-trap, *urai*, was set at the mouth of a glen to catch fish coming downstream after spawning, while fishing in the main stream went on.

226 221 184 The Ainu of the Azuma and the Otopuke valleys remained all through the season at their settlements, fishing only in the neighbouring streams. But the local groups on the upper Tokapchi migrated every August to a tributary of the Tokapchi, the Sahorun, when the salmon had already run up to its upper reaches (Map 2). The daily cycle of the fishing here was a little different from that in the main stream: in the Sahorun, no peep-fishing was practised, while the basket-trap was used to catch fish descending from a glen after spawning. They formed cooperative groups (p. 43, the chart) to stay, till the end of September, at fishing-huts set up along the tributary. The detail will be given in pp. 47 and 52.

226 221 In September when the rivers swollen with melted snow receded and the water became clear, each family built a dark-hut or peep-hut, *worun chise*, in the main stream near their settlement. In this season runs became more brisk. [462] It was the older male Ainu who speared salmon with the *marek* in the peep-hut towards evening and in early morning when there were active runs. The hut built at this time was successively used even in dog salmon fishing. The [184] Azuma Ainu, however, did not practice the peep-hut fishing at all.

Cherry salmon fishing continued till dog salmon fishing began.

Dog Salmon Fishing.

The rivers in Hokkaido used to be, and still are ascended by dog salmon, Oncorhynchus keta, from around September till December or January, though strictly speaking, the running period of the salmon varies to some extent in different years and in different rivers and on the upper and the lower stretches [132] [251] [262] in the same rivers (OYA, 1957). During the period of base snow which covers the entire island, the Ainu had to live on stored provisions consisting chiefly of dried dog salmon and venison. The amount of the salmon, which arrived immediately before their wintering season had a profound effect on the subsistence and daily life of the Ainu[27].

226 Peep-fishing proved most effective at hours before sunset when the fish re-
221 sumed their active ascent and again at daybreak before they became inactive
512 and went into hiding. In the daytime the spearers went round to spear salmon hiding in the bank-side deeps and under drift-wood. The basket-trap, the main fishing-gear for Ainu females, did not work with any efficiency until salmon started spawning. The use of the bag-net was tabooed till the latter part of the dog-salmon season, i. e. *meorun chep* season (Note 30). When spawning began in the spawning grounds near their own settlement, the Ainu started spearing the fish at the spawning grounds at sunset and in early morning. It will be seen from the ichthyological data in Note 28 that all the spawning and ascending activities of the fish usually become brisk at night between sundown and daybreak. The basket-trap, an automatic device, was set effectively to catch fish moving up and down around the spawning grounds, while in daytime fishing, spearing salmon in hiding was the only productive technique. In the earliest phase of the breeding season, i. e. before heavy spawning set in, peep-fishing in the running course still played a more im-
[562] portant part than spearing at and around the spawning grounds. In the upper Tokapchi women were prohibited to use the spear, *marek*, in this phase. In either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, heavy spawning was interrupted by a fall in the runs with mostly spawned fish remaining in the rivers and few fresh salmon to spawn—a period of several days. This period of falling off, however, was again followed by another of fresh runs. The arrival of fresh-run salmon seems to have been correlated roughly to the appearance of snow-ice lumps, *mompe*, in either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma as well as the Mukawa and the Saru. These later runs, to be regarded as 'silvery salmon' which ascend late in the Oncorhynchus keta season in Hokkaido, were distinguished by the Ainu as *meorun chep* or *mata chep* from the earlier one[30]. The *meorun chep* did not run so far upstream as the earlier groups but spawned in the same areas. The Ainu used, besides the same devices, torchlights and bag-nets which were prohibited for the
[184] earlier runs. The prohibition of the use of both these devices was verified only in Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma; that of torchlights alone is detectable among the natives of Mukawa and Saru, whereas the exclusive use of torchlights for the later runs is found among the Shikot Ainu. On the arrival of the *meorun chep* season all the Ainu began spearing salmon at night by torchlight. The method was employed most effectively, and therefore mainly, for fishing in spawning grounds, though it was also the one for running fish.
[462] In the daytime women came out to take part in bag-net fishing in combination with spearing by men in hidings of the fish. During this cold season the older males were occupid in catching running salmon mostly in peep-huts.
226 At the end of *meorun chep* spawning in the areas controlled by each group,
221 1, [Errata: the word "occupid" should read "occupied"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

structure of the building itself, the kinds of the fixtures and their arrangement were similar to those at home as far as ascertained in Tokapchi and Otopuke (Fig. 1). A special window was provided facing toward the source of the river, for the purpose of taking in and out the spoils of the chase and the hunting gear (Fig. 5, c; Note 60). The hut was oriented and the fixture arranged alike to the position of the window. The structure of the Ainu hunting hut, like their home dwelling, was not merely a material shelter but also a means of maintaining social solidarity with nature.

In spring and autumn each year the hut was occupied after necessary repairs by the fixed group of hunters. The group was formed either by an individual family or by two or three families belonging to the same settlement (pp. 43 and 46). Each hunting group usually had a hut of either type to use for respective purpose (p. 45, the chart). Some groups had no bear hunting hut, in which case there was no positive activity in bear hunting. The Ainu hunters, except a few going home and back again on occasion, stayed at their hut throughout the hunting season. From this base they went round, setting spring bows and hunting with hand bows. There they dissected their spoils according to a set ritual procedure and prepared from them hides, meat and fat to be kept till the time of carrying them home. The occupants of the hut might be all males or mixed, with females doing such domestic work as cooking and so on, as was usually the case at the deer hunting hut where there were more hunters and more spoils brought in. Female helpers, however, were quite few in either case: about one at a bear hunting hut and not many more even at a deer hunting hut. They were mostly hunters' unmarried daughters or unmarried sisters, who were usually at home doing house work but were called up when spoils were more than could be skinned or carried off by the occupants themselves. The Ainu of the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma valleys as well as those of the Mukawa valley had two huts for bear hunting, one deep in the source area of the river and another midway or comparatively near their homes, the examples of which are given in the chart in p. 45. Some Ainu inform that Ainu hunters used one or the other according to the conditions of the season; but there are also indications that they used the first for bearhunting in spring and the second in autumn.

Hunting Activities.

Deer Hunting.

The deer, Cervus nippon, was hunted in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. Autumn deer were to the Ainu as important a source of winter food as were dog salmon. In summer as well, deer roamed about in herds

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hup, Abies sachalinensis[33]. In the second phase the scene[1] of hunting shifted accordingly from the fields up to the hills. Huntings on the fields were usually done by hunters out from their homes in the settlement for the day, whereas for the hill hunting the hunters from most settlements migrated in parties to near the area where deer concentrated to pass the winter (Fig. 8 and Map 2). The hunters stayed at their huts in the valleys of streams down from the winter quarters, chasing their game with hounds and with hand bows and poisoned arrows. They usually returned home when the snow was too deep for them and their dogs to walk in. In either of Tokapchi and Otopuke, hunting activities during this second phase were performed only by part of the hunters, and in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi at least, by some younger, unmarried hunters. In short, those activities were more or less supplementary to field hunting. They seem to have fluctuated in proportion to the scarcity of meat in actual store.

Spring hunting.—In spring the surface of the snow on the hills thawed by day and hardened again by night. Then deer hunting was resumed by hunters back at their huts near the winter quarters (p. 54). For some time early in the season, they used their hounds to drive the animals from their quarters down into glens still filled with snow and then shot them with hand bows as they fled struggling in the hardened snow. They also hunted the game lured by fresh leaves or small twigs of trees fallen on the ground, with spring bows set around them. As the snow began to disappear and the plants pushed forth their buds, deer gradually came down in herds to the lower plain in search of food. From the winter quarters down to the fields deer passed by way of the ridges of hills. Their tracks, *yuk apiri*, were much more fixed between the winter quarter and the bottom of the ridge than on the open fields. They continued hunting by means of spring bows set along the migration tracks as well as by hand bows till the base snow disappeared from the fields and the downward migration was completed. Each hunting party constituting a hut group (pp. 43-46) practised the spring bow hunting in their own hunting territory, that is, the dale valley in which their hut was located (p. 31).

Besides the methods mentioned above, the Ainu hunted deer down with dogs, caught them by the horn or neck with ropes and killed them with clubs as they fled struggling in the snow or crossed the rivers[34]. This method was widely practised among the Ainu; however, it seems to have been only supplementary to the others. It was also the only method of deer hunting by women and children.

Bear Hunting.

The Hokkaido species of bear belongs to Ursus arctos, a kind of brown

1. [Errata: the word "scence" should read "scene". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

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In spring when the snow had disappeared from the plains, the Ainu set to work collecting wild plants. Their work continued incessantly and with persistence till it was autumn when dog salmon began ascending the rivers. Of the species listed in the chart, Nos. 6, 9 and 19 were especially important as food for bear cubs kept in their homes. Most of the plants collected were dried and stored away in sufficient quantities to last the winter. During spring and summer all varieties with edible leaves, stalks, or roots which the Ainu needed were taken in. In summer *trep* roots were chiefly collected. Those groups that did no farming as in Otopuke gathered these roots with hardly a day's rest during the season. The roots were made into starch for storage. On the other hand, those groups that did some farming (p. 41) seem to have gathered roots with less frequency and in smaller quantity.

In autumn, fishing and hunting activities of the Ainu reached their climax in preparation for the approaching winter. But even at this season certain kinds of edible plants such as nuts, fruits and berries, were collected, though not in such quantities as would last any great length of time. A few varieties of nuts, for instance, acorn and walnut, were exceptions.

The greater part of plants for raw materials were also gathered during autumn, a task in which women again played a major role. In this manner, when base snow covered the ground, the Ainu had completed all their collecting activities. All these activities were arranged in season, so that they were adapted to the ecology of plant life. On the basis of vegtation[1] the Ainu classified the different parts of their land into the following types as forming their main collecting grounds.

Types of Land	Ainu Term	Plants Mainly Collected
Woodland on river bank	*kenashi*	3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14
Woodless field on either river bank or river terrace	*nup*	1, 2
Oak wood on river terrace	*komni tai*	1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 18
Woodland by the side of streamlets on river terrace	*nitat*	6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

Numbers correspond to those associated with the plant names cited in the list.

The terrace on which the *kotan* stood and its adjoining river bank provided the collecting grounds for their food plants (Fig. 8). Here also were found flora for raw materials, fire-wood, and almost all other plants, excepting a few special items like Ulmus laciniata for clothing or Aconitum for arrow poison. The former species were usually found distributed in plenty and collected in the mountains in the upper reaches of a river (p. 66). Aconite

1, [Errata: the word "vegtation" should read "vegetation". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usually done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member households of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance, those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[9]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*, and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

Food-getting Activities.

Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order to sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic importance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest form, the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1. [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]
2. [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

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There could not be any cooperative gathering work of the local group as a whole except when it consisted of a very few families and formed a single *kotan*. In the Otopuke valley the local group split themselves into several *kotan*, the upstream one with 10 families into 6 *kotan*, the downstream one with 8 families into 4 *kotan*, each of which was a single cooperative unit consisting of 1-3 families. In the Tokapchi valley the *kotan* were larger on an average than those in the Otopuke valley in terms of the number of member families; of the two *kotan* analysed, Nitmap with 7 households and Pipaushi with 6 households, had been divided into several cooperative units. This was also the case with the single-settlement local group with ca. 10 households in Tonika of the Azuma valley in the 1880's. For example, Nitmap group, a single-settlement local group with 7 households, was divided into 4 units in either of cooperative deer hunting or bear hunting and into 3-4 units in various kinds of cooperative fishing activities. Here attention must be drawn to the fact that the membership of the cooperative group might have been almost the same in the same type of cooperative work but varied to some extent in the different types of work. Factors responsible for the formation or fission of the cooperative group could not be analysed though some of them might be vaguely suggested in a few actual cases in Notes 41 and 42.

So far as gathering activities are concerned, no cooperative unit consisting of the members of more than one settlement has been known among the Ainu, though there were rare cases as, for instance, of an individual joining a cooperative group outside his settlement to which his relative belonged, to take part in such single work as bear hunting or bag-net fishing. One of the actual examples is given in Note 42. In other activities than gathering, cooperation on the largest scale was made in the setting up of the roof of a house in house-building, which required a number of hands at one time. But even in this work, cooperation remained within one local group (p. 12).

In hunting, men played the leading part doing decisive work. It is true that women occasionally hunted deer with a rope or club, helped by hunting dogs, but it was a taboo for Ainu women to use bow and arrow which constituted the major weapon of the people. In spring and autumn, men of each cooperative hunting group were divided into two parties, the bear hunting party consisting of younger and more active hunters and the deer hunting party of older and less able men. The autumn bear-party was generally smaller in size than the spring one, for in that season deer hunting and dog salmon fishing were of special importance for securing winter foods. It is to be noted that at times even the deer party hunted bears if they found any, but their hunting fields were more suited to deer hunts, bears living more sparsely there Fig. 8. And even the party that had gone after bears, if

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Cooperative Groups in Pipaushi at ca. 1885[42]

House Number	Household Members	Bear Hunting		Weir Fishing	
		Group	Location of Hut	Tributary	
				Group	Location of Hut
No. 1	Chiokatupa (H) Tononkare (W) Uturusote (S) 1 Daughter	(A) A	Kutteki-un-pet farther up the Ochiai	1	On the Sahorun a little below Shimizu.
No. 2	Haukiainu (H) Katesan (W) Pepenouk (S) 1 Daughter	A		2	At the junction of the Pekerepet on the Sahorun.
No. 3	Sayuturuk (Um) 2 Sisters (Uw)	A		?	
No. 4	Moirenise (Ww) 1 Daughter (Uw)			2	
No. 5	Isontomam (H) Ueash (W) Children	B	Sohshipet up the Saru river.	1	
No. 6	Chipreka (H) Wife (name unknown) 1 Son (Daughters not identified)	C	Unidentifiable	3	At the junction of the Pekerepet on the Sahorun

(Legend: See the chart for Nitmap)

unfavourably circumstanced, would return to their *kotan* to engage in deer hunting and salmon fishing. The leader, *shie sapane kuru*, of each party was generally its oldest member, and was responsible for all technical practices on the hunting sites, for guidance and supervision in ritual observances, and for the disposal and distribution of the game and catch.

In fishing, both men and women had an important part to play, but the chief techniques of men differed from those of women. Generally, men took to spearing and women to trapping. Among the major fishing gear, which were fish-spear, basket trap, bagnet and weir, the first two were made and used by each family, while the other two were constructed and manipulated by cooperative groups. The local groups on the upper Tokapchi made a seasonal trip annually to fixed fishing sites in smaller streams to catch cherry salmon, where it was their custom for each cooperative group to form a unit and live in one hut to cooperate in weir and bagnet fishing (p. 45; Map 2). The construction and manipulation of those bagnets and weir were placed under the scheme and guidance of one wise man among the members of the group, usually the oldest man. Cooperation was made also in other work

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than these. Women and children of families less favoured with catches helped the more fortunate families in transportaion and processing, that is, carrying, cutting and drying of the fish, to be rewarded with a certain share of the products.

In collecting edible plants, no cooperation between families was made. Neighbouring women of the same settlement would invite one another and go in one group gathering edible plants, but usually each colleted[2] for her own family. Their habit of collecting plants together was based on mere companionship. However, such a party when going far, was always under the leadership of a senior woman who gave necessary advice in the matter of gathering. On long expeditions, especially when there was any danger of the brown bear, they were escorted by some male member of their families.

There were some families who were habitually not very keen on bear hunting. They were not so earnest as to migrate to the hybernation[2] centres of bears in the depth of the monutains; instead they made more efforts in fishing. It appears that such families were more frequently found among the downstream local groups than among the upstream ones. Especially among those coastal groups, *pishun utaru*, that lived in settlements near the estuaries, called *pish un kotan* or coastal settlemenst[1]; the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with huts and grounds mainly for that purpose, was probably null or very small in proportion to that among the interior groups, *kimun utaru*, of interior or inland settlement, *kimun kotan* (p. 76). According to all my informants from the inland groups, it is more than probable that in the days of traditional life which they themselves experienced the coastal groups had the habit of fishing on the sea as well as on the rivers, while the inland group never fished on the sea (Note 53). Such occupational differentiation, though small, existed between the inland groups and the coatal[4] groups, accompanied more or less by interchange of food-stuffs, usually based on kinship and affinity, and sea fish, meat and salmon were bartered or exchanged as gifts between related families, though it is not ascertained whether it was an act of bartering or of gift. This kind of interchange took place not only within the reaches of the same river but also between the reaches of adjacent river groups. There was also a certain degree of occupational differenciation among the families of the same settlement, which led to the practice of interchange of certain kinds of provisions. For instance, the female members of one family devoted themselves to collecting edible plants, some of which were given to a neighbouring family in return for some meat or fish. Another family endeavoured to catch fish, part of which procured in return some meat from a different family. It appears that this practice was partly connected with individual differences, which seem to have been practically rather great, in the skill of handling fishing spear and bow and arrow,

1,2,3,4. [Errata: these should read "collected, hibernation settlements" and "coastal" respectively--Analyst]

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438 which were the main personal weapons of the Ainu males for gathering food.

462 Sex Division of Labour.

Construction and Manufacture of Gathering Devices.	
Bow and arrow	Male
Deer-fence	Male and female
Associated hunting gear	Male
Feeding of hunting dogs	Male and female
Fish-spear	Male
Net	Male
Basket-trap	Female (if the stream is too big, assisted by male)
Weir:	
Making screen	Female
Making and driving pegs	Male
Building platforms	Male
Net-trap	Male
Wooden pick for gathering roots and cultivation	Female
Knife (sheath)	Male
Operation of the Devices.	
Hunting:	
Hand-bow and arrow	Male
Spring-bow and arrow	Male
Ropes and wooden clubs	Female or male
Dogs	Male or female
Fishing:	
Spear	Male (occasionally by female)
Basket-trap	Female
Bag-net	Female and/or male
Weir	Male and/or female
Net-trap	Male
Collecting:	
Felling trees	Male
Materials for mats, baskets, firewoods, nets, threads, basket traps and weir screens	Female
Roots and leaves	Female
Nuts	Female (clibming tree, male)
Bark for cloth	
Clibming and cutting trees	Male

1, [Errata: the word "clibming" should read "climbing"--Analyst]

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Scraping bark	Female
Aconite plants	Male
Processing of Gathered Materials	
Bear and deer:	
Skinning:	
First cutting	Male
Other skinning work	Male and/or female
Abstracting fat	Male and/or female
Scraping skin	Male and/or female
Feeding bear-cub	Female
Fish:	
First cutting of first dog salmon	Male
Other cutting and processing work including roasting and sun-drying	Female or male
House building:	
Constructing frame	Male
Thatching and walling	Female
Lifting up the roof	Male and female
Building dugout	Male
Boiling, drying and storing edible plants	Female
Manufacturing wooden utencils and furniture	Male
Weaving, knitting and sewing	Female
Making threads	Female

Cycles of Gathering Activities, Sex Division of Labour and Changes of Activity Fields. 221 462

The Ainu had two major cycles of gathering activities: a leisure season in winter for about two months and a work season for about ten months from spring to fall. During the work season their labour was devoted to hunting by men for about two to three months, to collecting by women for about five to six months, and to fishing, mostly salmon, by men and women for about eight to nine months.

Spring.—When the snow season was over and thawing began, biotic communities started their lively activities, which the Ainu, as part of nature, joined by resuming their vigorous outdoor, especially gathering, activities. Their grown-up males organized bear or deer hunting parties, and migrating, the former usually to river-source mountains, the latter to lower hills along and between rivers, and living in huts, did their hunts. Female members, however, except those who went with the parties to cook for them, remained [251]

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221 at home and busied themselves gathering edible plants, especially herbs, on
462 the neighbouring river-banks or river-terraces, and boiling and drying them
[251] for storage. These female activities, essential for recurring winter life, lasted intensively until midsummer or throughout the whole summer. During the spring, the river fish were not yet plenty, but there were some runs of fish such as *chirai*, Hucho perryi, or *supun*, Triploden spp.. The deer hunters, who had migrated to their huts, returned by turns to their houses, even during the deer season, to carry home their game, and they utilized such opportunities to catch these river fish. When the hunting season was over, the hunting parties returned in the middle of spring to find little to do except this kind of fishing, until the cherry salmon appeared.

Summer.—The season was the time devoted to fishing and collecting. In early summer, all men, now living at home with their families, began catching cherry salmon that appeared in the river near their settlement. And when by and by the cherry salmon began to spawn, they moved their major fishing grounds from the river to small tributaries. At this stage, some local groups on the upper Tokapchi (p. 27) migrated regularly to the same streams at some distance from their settlement and lived in huts which served as their fishing bases, while others fished near their own settlement, living at
[251] home. Females also took some active part in fishing, and broiled and dried their catch to preserve them. Females, however, had more important work
[285] to do during this season. They had to gather certain edible roots (Cardio-
[287] crinum Glehni) chiefly along the river banks, and make starch from it; besides, they had to do such domestic work as weaving bark cloth and making baskets. Therefore, when the local groups went migrating to some cherry salmon fishing sites, part of the female population, especially housewives, remained at home. Again, some members of the fishing groups in the huts at the fishing sites returned home by turns frequently, chiefly to carry home their catches.

Autumn.—It was at this season, when dog salmon run upstream in place of cherry salmon and deer's meat grew greasy, that the Ainu prepared their main food for the winter in which it was difficult to gather any. Therefore, their food gathering activities became most intensive at this season. Most of the males remained at home with their families, catching dog salmon in the neighbouring rivers and pursuing deer in the fields on the river-terraces near the settlement. But some of the males, younger and more expert hunters, did so only in the early part of this season, and with the coming of mid-autumn, sped migrating to their huts near the hibernation centres of the bears to hunt them. The autumn bear party was generally smaller in size than the spring one, for in that season deer hunting and dog salmon fishing was of special importance for securing winter foods.

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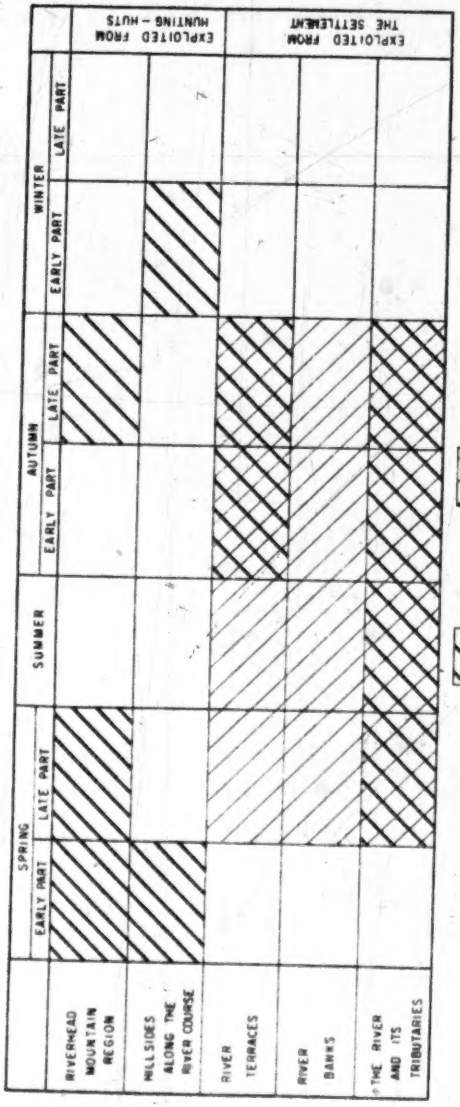

Fig. 7. Seasonal changes in the activity fields of male and female Ainus.

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during which the Ainu, especially those in the interior regions, still led their social life of independence based on gathering activities, with a minimum of intercourse with Japanese through trading and fishing labour. In Tokapchi, for instance, which forms a main subject area for the present study and where Japanese immigration and settlement came later than in other districts, practically no Japanese immigrants were found in ca. 1874 (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, p. 299). It was in 1882-1883 when a small party of Japanese settlers called "Banseisha" came to settle near Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi to open up the interior part of the river valley (Note 10). In the upper Tokapchi surveyed by the author not a single Japanese settler was found even at the outset of the land allotment and the agricultural coaching programme launched in that area in 1886 (Notes 8-10). As a result the Tokapchi Ainu remained free in their gathering activities and from Japanese pressure and influence till a comparatively later period. Hunting of deer in the entire Tokapchi area was banned in 1879 to all except the local Ainu (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 437); salmon fishing in the upper Tokapchi, which had been prohibited in 1883, was released later to local natives alone (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 486).

According to the author's informants relating their own experiences, the contemporary social intercourse between the interior Tokapchi Ainu and Japanese was as follows. Conditions in the Azuma valley seems to have been much the same. Every year when it was spring, Japanese agents came by boat to the interior Ainu settlements in order to hire natives for employment at coastal fishing grounds. The selection of the persons to go was decided at the *ukosanio*, assembly of the headman and house-heads of the local group. Such negotiations with Japanese were generally conducted by a representative called "ottena", an old title conferred by the feudal clan on native officers under the "basho" system and still used among the Ainu after its abolition by the Japanese Government. Sometimes the title "ottena" was held concurrently by the traditional headman himself, as at Nitmap and Pipaushi in Tokapchi (Note 23, N12 and P6); sometimes it was held by some one else, as at Moseushi (Note 23, M3 and M14). Ainus hired for labour at the fishing coasts were mostly young men but included some women. Work for women, such as drying of sea-tangles, was sometimes over in a relatively short period; but work for men, chiefly salmon and sardine fishing, usually lasted well into autumn. On return home these men had immediately to go hunting at their huts with fellow members (for examples see Note 41, Shiokoro's and Shurunke's families). In reward for their service at the fishing coasts they received wine and foodstuffs, such as rice and salt. In spring Japanese fur traders also came to their settlements to exchange deer and bear skins, bark clothes and other products for articles of clothing, such as cotton fabrics, articles of taste and food, such as wine, tabacco, rice and salt. The